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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Hiss at Princeton

TWO REPORTS

"Moral Re-Armament"— Coexistence Through Apology

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

Poland: Eternal and Temporary

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . SAM M. JONES

JAMES BURNHAM · C. DICKERMAN WILLLIAMS · RUSSELL KIRK

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN · F. A. VOIGT · RIVILO OLIVER

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

(Mr. Jones is now making an extensive survey of the pre-election scene in the various states. His special reports will appear in this space from time to time.—THE EDITORS)

Austin, Texas

There's a big row in the Big State. From the Orange River to the Sierra Blanca Mountains you can hear the fighting words: "You're a ____ Conservative," and, "You're a ____ Liberal!" And nobody's smilin'.

These epithets are a little confusing at first to non-Texans. It's all a matter of definition, however, and in these days of meaningless political labels, a paradox here and there can scarcely hurt.

To define the terms in the simplest synonyms, a Texas Conservative is a radical and a Texas Liberal is a conformist. To make it even more clear, the Liberals bow to the conventional orthodoxy while the Conservatives defy it. Further to illuminate the now clarified picture, the Liberals submit to established rule while the Conservatives walk out.

When you understand all this, the big fight is easy to follow, even if it is hard to tell who is winning. There is, in fact, only one other minor complication. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives are on the same team. They are--one and all--members of the Democratic Party of Texas.

The Principle at Issue

The divisive issue, as you will have guessed by now, is Liberalism versus Conservatism. A recent editorial in the Dallas Morning News provides a bill of particulars:

"The 1956 battle for control of the Texas delegation to the National Democratic Convention is pretty much a repetition of the 1952 conflict.

"The issue is not whether Lyndon Johnson shall be supported for the presidential nomination but whether the "yellow-dog" principle shall prevail.

"Johnson and Sam Rayburn make no bones about it. They want to bind the delegation to vote for the nominee of the convention, whoever he might be. It could be Stevenson or Kefauver or Harriman or Humphrey or even Walter Reuther. It won't be Lyndon Johnson or Harry Byrd or Walter George or Richard Russell.

"The line-up has changed somewhat from 1952. Rayburn and Johnson have come down from Washington to take charge of the liberals. Government from the top down! Labor leaders have come out in the open. Some conservatives have misfigured the percentages and changed sides.

"Yet the battle still is between the conservatives and the liberals. The former would preserve States' rights, free enterprise and the freedom of an American citizen to work at any job he can get. The latter would further curtail States' rights, substitute socialism for free enterprise and rob free workers of their independence.

"Those who support the liberal side in this conflict commit themselves, in advance, to take whatever dose the national convention may order. It may be prescribed by the extreme left-wing element."

Shivers--Non-Conformist

Forbearing to belabor the obvious, the News found no reason to recall to its informed readership that Governor Allen Shivers heads the Conservative faction, or that it was under his leadership that the conservatives bolted the Democratic ticket in 1952 to support Eisenhower. Today the Governor leads the non-conformist vanguard, although he is not a candidate for public office. He is a candidate for delegate to the Democratic National Convention, and his slate is opposed by that of Senator Lyndon Johnson, who is supported by that other great conformist, Speaker Sam Rayburn. Senator Johnson is also a "favorite son" candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

In the opinion of the "heretical" Mr. Shivers, Mr. Johnson's chances for the Presidential nomination aren't worth an ounce of horsefeathers in a Texas Twister. Shivers remarked in an interview at Waco, "Lyndon is so blinded by personal ambition and vanity that he doesn't realize the Northern liberals are using him as a stalking horse." Spokesmen for Johnson retorted sharply that any Texan who would openly bolt the Party ticket isn't fit to be trusted.

Private citizens as well as politicians are hip deep in the fray. A subcriber to the Houston Chronicle, J. Robison, asks, "is

(*Continued on p. 16*)

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The WEEK

The Secretary of Defense, Mr. Charles E. Wilson, has for the first time conceded that Soviet Russia is outproducing the United States in long-range bombers (the dominant weapon of modern armies). The admission is serious in itself. What makes it truly frightening is the fact that it was almost extorted, from a very unwilling Secretary of Defense, by the preceding testimony of General Curtis E. LeMay, Strategic Air Commander. LeMay had informed the Senate that by 1958 the Soviet Union will have a greater *over-all* striking power in the air than the U.S. And this is the true measure of our predicament: the American people learn only accidentally that their nation is fast turning into a second-class power (second-class, in war, meaning certain defeat); while the Administration keeps jubilating about Peace & Prosperity.

After all, Mr. T. Coleman Andrews is an authority on the subject of taxation: he was, until his recent resignation, for three years head of the Internal Revenue Service. Now when Mr. Andrews says that the income tax is inequitable, unenforceable, and ought to be repealed (as he recently did in the *American Weekly*), it must be presumed that, as the saying goes, he knows what he is talking about. There are bureaucrats and bureaucrats, and maybe out of the mouths of some will come the facts about bureaucracy that even the congressional investigating committees cannot obtain.

If one can trust the Government-inspired British press (which would never do), there was a secret British stratagem behind K. & B.'s revolting visit to London: Eden is out to establish for Great Britain the viable and profitable position of "middleman" between the Soviet Union and the United States. But, aside from the fact that we fail to see what's so viable in that position, we can assure Mr. Eden that it most certainly would not prove profitable either. For, if the U.S. ever made the final deal with the Soviet Union, it would decidedly dispose of Great Britain. As a "neutralist" (or "middleman"), Great Britain isn't worth the price of the banquet the City of London gave K. & B.

On the eve of his re-election as President of Korea, to serve perhaps for the rest of his life, we want to ex-

press our admiration for Mr. Syngman Rhee. He is one of the few men who have saved our generation from the shame of living in a world entirely without courage, honor and greatness. For this very reason, of course, our Liberal press has for many years tried on Mr. Rhee the characteristic routine of assassination that was so fabulously successful in the case of another great man, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. But, unlike the U.S. Government, history does not yield to Liberal pressures. And in its records, Syngman Rhee will outshine the fame of a couple of contemporary American Presidents.

India's Communist Party has at last given formal respectability to an old and not-so-clandestine love affair: the Party has now officially resolved to support Nehru. This, of course, will still not stop our Liberals from selling Mr. Nehru to this country as the fountainhead of Asiatic democracy. But it may frighten some buyers off. As to us, we never thought there was anything so ambiguous in Mr. Nehru's conduct that it could not be entirely cured by his open and honest adherence to the Communist Party.

The abduction of the five refugee Soviet seamen, exposed by the adroit work of the Senate's Internal Security subcommittee, underscores the objections to diplomatic recognition of Communist China. There are only a few hundred Russian refugees in this country, but scores of them have suffered at the hands of alien Communists who travel about with diplomatic immunity. The Chinese-American population numbers more than one hundred thousand persons, almost all of them with relatives in China. Recognition of Mao would open up infinite possibilities for blackmail and terrorization by Mao's gangsters.

When the Soviet Union recently pressured the Cannes Film Festival Committee into banning the West German entry, "Sky without Stars"—a film depicting the flight of refugees from Communist East Germany—the Bonn Government withdrew from the Festival lock, stock and technicolor reel. It didn't even argue the case. We shudder to think of the trans-Atlantic cables and calls, the ruffling of high-placed brows and the inevitable lack of effective action which would have resulted had not the Germans but the U. S. been pressured. On second thought, however, the chances of any such development are slim. Can any one think of a *good* anti-Communist film made in Hollywood?

The International Civil Aviation Organization, a UN group to which 65 nations belong, has scheduled a discussion for its very next meeting on how to divide up outer space. Under the ICAO convention, each of the 65 member nations has *exclusive* use of the atmosphere above its own territory; but when the atmosphere gets thin—so thin that it isn't there at all—who then will police what celestial boundary, pray tell? Although no specialized UN agency is "responsible for agreements on rights and privileges in outer space," the ICAO stated, "ICAO is concerned because space ships will have to pass through atmosphere (clearly ICAO's responsibility) to *get* to outer space." We hope the UN does not jump to hasty conclusions.

Foreign Policy in the Campaign

After lengthy preparation behind a screen of bipartisanship, the Democrats have begun a massive attack on the foreign policy sector of the electoral front. Ex-President Truman laid down a preliminary barrage of scattered grape shot. Then the Party's heaviest guns wheeled into action: Dean Acheson, from an emplacement deep in the *New York Times Magazine;* George Kennan, with raking flank fire from a Princeton-sponsored TV program; and Adlai Stevenson, lobbing mortar shells from a more exposed position at the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The cumulative fire pattern was too coherent for chance derivation. If there was not a joint plan, it was only because identical ideas made planning unnecessary.

Let us soberly consider the estimate that these four give of the present situation; their explanation of how the present situation came about; and their proposals for the future.

"In these last three years," Mr. Stevenson declares, "the United States has come dangerously close to losing, if indeed it has not lost, its leadership in the world . . . The Russian challenge is developing rapidly and with great flexibility and force."

"Today in our foreign relations," Mr. Acheson finds, "we are baffled and perplexed . . . Things are not going well in the non-Communist world."

"I believe," Mr. Truman affirmed, "the Communist threat is more dangerous now than it has ever been before. I believe recent changes in Soviet tactics are not signs of 'failure' but evidence of growing . . . power."

This joint estimate is a grave indictment of the present Administration as custodian of the nation's security. We believe that the indictment is justified, that the Administration is guilty as charged. "The imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union" (to borrow the language of the enemy) is being transformed into "the Soviet encirclement of imperialism" —more succinctly, into the isolation and encirclement of the United States.

Whether Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles do not comprehend this process, or whether, understanding it, they choose for factional reasons to try to hide it, we do not pretend to know. Neither hypothesis is pleasant to entertain.

If this is the situation, how did it come about, and what are we to do?

Our troubles come, Mr. Kennan explains, from a wrong "attitude," an "overmilitarization of our thinking about the cold war."

Mr. Acheson, similarly, blames "a tough attitude of standing strictly on legal rights, defending them by force, if necessary."

And Mr. Stevenson insists that it is because we fail to meet with "something more positive than derision" [Khrushchev's] appeal "to this hopeful, peaceful mood"; because "we have so mismanaged ourselves of late that we must now try to prove that we love peace as much as the Russians, and are concerned with the problems of economic development and national independence as they are."

And the solution? Mr. Stevenson proclaims a three-point program:

"First of all, a decent respect for the opinions of others . . .

"Secondly, I believe we should give prompt and earnest consideration to stopping further tests of the hydrogen bomb.

"Third, we should . . . make greater use of the United Nations as the economic aid agency. We should try to remove economic development from the arena of the 'cold war.'"

That is all.

This—just this and nothing more—is the foreign policy program of the Democratic Party: unconditioned aid given anonymously through the United Nations; de-emphasis of military power; yielding to the opinions of others.

Walter Lippmann was right in his comment on the Eisenhower and Stevenson speeches to the newspaper editors: "Under the partisan fencing the striking thing about the speeches was that on no substantial question of policy is there an issue between them." The two parties rest on the same premises: we are at peace; our objective is to preserve that peace and to prevent war; the way to do this is to find some way of getting on, some *modus vivendi,* with the Soviet Union.

These bipartisan premises bear no relation to reality. The Soviet Union, under its Communist rulers, is making war on us *now,* and is committed to our defeat and destruction.

It takes only one to make a war. Peace is not an available choice in the actual circumstances. Our choice is limited to capitulation, however drawn out, or victory. And this narrow choice confronts us not only in general, but on each separate issue that arises between us and Moscow.

Our problem is not to make the non-Communist nations love us (which, as Mr. Raymond Cartier's recent article so eloquently showed, is hopeless in any case) but to give them confidence in our leadership; to win their respect; or if that cannot be, their awe. We must convince them that we have both the will and the might to be the leading power in the world; and that in the contest which Moscow has imposed on us we will not be the losers. We need firm allies, not beggars to whom—with a feeling of guilt—we toss handouts. Our aid, which cannot be infinite, should be restricted to those nations ready for firm alliance. If there are few, or none, thus ready, then better to husband our resources at home, where at least they will not be hurled against us.

It is not possible to construct a viable American foreign policy on any basis other than the central truth about the world situation: the irrevocable commitment of the Communist Enterprise to world conquest. On any other basis, every policy variant—Eisenhower's or Acheson's—will continue in the future to lurch us from one to another defeat.

NATIONAL REVIEW'S analysis of foreign policy proceeds from this conviction. During the months of the election campaign we shall continue to apply it to the major problems at issue—and to both parties.

Why Was He Asked?

Those who favored Hiss' having been invited to Princeton tended to rely on one or another variation of the proposition that a) everyone has the right to speak, or b) it is beneficial to a student to be exposed to all points of view.

As to a), it is a phony, and patently so: for no one is engaged in suppressing Hiss' right to speak; and the right to speak does not equal the obligation to listen—an analytical truism unchallenged even at the Institute of Advanced Study. The second argument is completely undermined by the fact that Hiss *feigns innocence.* (For details, see our two reports on pages 9 and 10.)

It can be contended (with a certain degree of plausibility) that there is something to be learned from listening to a Communist propound Communism. But what is to be learned from hearing a Communist read from the *New York Times?*—which, by common acknowledgment, is in effect what Mr. Hiss did in speaking on the "Meaning of Geneva." What is to be learned from listening to Upton Sinclair read aloud—as though he meant it—from the diaries of Mark Hanna? Or Paul Blanshard from the Papal encyclicals? It must have been obvious to the students who invited him that Hiss intended to keep up with his

grand pretense. So, we repeat, why was he asked, when he promised only mimicry?

The only *rational* explanation left open (there are many irrational explanations) is that the students who issued the invitation expected a pro-Western account of the Cold War from a man whom, deep down, they consider to be pro-West—that the invitation reflected a lurking doubt, perhaps, in the student body as a whole as to Hiss' guilt. If that doubt is there, Princeton education stands indicted.

Those who opposed Hiss' Princeton appearance did so, most commonly, on the grounds that it is at best unseemly to present a traitor and a convicted perjurer under civilized auspices. The argument neglects, in our judgment, an important aspect of the affair.

A Communist, merely because he is one, must be massively—and even ruthlessly—opposed. But a Communist does not, merely in virtue of his attachment to the Communist abstraction, automatically become personally despicable or contemptible.

Hiss is no more despicable for having filched secret documents for his Communist overlords than he is for having, on the day of judgment, attempted to crush the very souls of Whittaker Chambers and his family by obscene and excruciating lies and distortions to the use of which, we must assume, his ideology had finally calloused him. It is due as much to the nature of his defense as to the nature of his crime that Hiss' appearance in Princeton offended reason and morality.

Witness

In the April 30 issue of *Life* Magazine, Mr. Whittaker Chambers writes about the Twentieth Congress, and about the meaning of the great struggle with Communism.

As analysis, the article is brilliant. (*"Cold war is, in fact, the true brink of war policy, and whoever stands up to it finds himself willy-nilly playing brink of war. For its blackmailing effect depends on crowding an opponent to that brink so that any effort at resistance must make the brink seem more dizzily inevitable."*)

In penetrating insights, the article is abundant. (*"The whole world craves peace. All that is best in the West—most intelligent, humane, creative—abhors the thought of war. It is even simpler than that: men and women simply look at their children and grandchildren and think, it must not be. This is the absolute precondition for a change of climate. Practically all that is necessary to change the weather is for the Communist blizzard to stop freezing men's hopes, for a warm and melting sun to rise above the steppes. It is not necessary for Communism to liquidate the threat of Communism. It is only necessary for Communism to liquidate the threat of war."*)

As a challenge, the article is more nearly irresistible than anything recently written. (The new Communist appeal is directed at men and women alienated by Stalin. These new adherents *"will not only revitalize Communism from which the spirit had all but died, leaving only a barren executive will, the habit of command or blind submission, both locked in an unspoken hypocrisy. They will speak to others who can hear them within the West. They will speak in many voices, on many ranges of feeling and of logic. But the resonance, haunting everything they say, and giving it special force, will be, even though unspoken, a single line of Lenin's wife's: 'Those who have not lived through the revolution cannot imagine its grand solemn beauty.' The West will have to match that resonance from some depths within itself."*)

Whittaker Chambers, as André Malraux has said of him, is one of the few men who did not return from hell with empty hands.

They've Got a Little List

The Supreme Court of Western Germany has released documents which pertain to a recent attempt at assassination and illustrate, once again, the ferociousness of the Communists in effectively assaulting anti-Communist Russian expatriates. At the top of the liquidation-list (drawn up by Nikita Khrushchev and Georgi Malenkov *after* Stalin's death!) are two members of the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (NTS), the organization which directs the Russian resistance movement.

Methodical as always, the Soviet high command ordered Nikolai Khokhlov, a trusted Soviet Intelligence officer, to travel to Frankfurt am Main and there to murder Georgi Okolovich, who holds the rank of "Number One Enemy of the Soviet regime." But Khokhlov betrayed his masters, and their liquidation plans, to the NTS—in which he has worked ever since, even while Moscow Secret Police hold his wife and child.

Last December, wary of exposing another high-caliber officer to Western influence, the Soviets offered a toadie of the East German police $5,000 to assassinate Vladimir D. Poremsky, president of the NTS and Number Two on the list. This plan fell through when their agent lost his nerve and surrendered to the West German police for protection.

Yet the Soviets are not discouraged by such failures. They have, after all, succeeded in kidnapping two leaders of the NTS from under our noses in West Germany and the American Zone of Austria. Encouraged by Western indifference, the USSR has now issued diplomatic protests against the activities of the

NTS branches in free countries. And, if the Harold Stassens and Paul G. Hoffmans prevail, our government may feel tempted to comply. But is the American people indeed so intoxicated with the Geneva Spirit that it would tolerate such a surrender to infamy?

Rough Cotton

We oppose a government program of price supports for farm commodities on economic and philosophical grounds: it is not, we believe, in the best interests of the nation. Mr. Blackburn Hughes, of Memphis, who has been in the cotton business for more than forty years, opposes it on grounds of self-interest. The price-support program for cotton, he says, is a boomerang. Launched to save farmers from bankruptcy, it is now well on the way to bankrupting the cotton industry by pricing that commodity out of both the international and the domestic market.

This is the picture as Mr. Hughes gives it to us: The United States, which once exported more than half of its cotton crop, will, by the end of 1956, export little more than one-eighth of it. We can no longer compete on a world market where even our poorer grade cottons (middling 15/16 staple) cost—$27.50 to $40.00 a bale more than parallel-grade foreign cottons. Domestically, subsidized cotton is also losing out—to lower cost synthetics. Mr. Hughes cites as an example the recent loss of the two-million-bale tire-cord market to synthetics.

Meanwhile, eight million bales of cotton grown by farmers for the government rather than the market place now lie in Commodity Credit Corporation warehouses; and another six billion will be added this year (according to present estimates), making a total of fourteen billion—or an entire year's crop.

Mr. Hughes advocates a twofold cotton program, and he warns that it will be painful. Part one, abolition of price supports: cutting parity payments back to 80 per cent, 70 per cent and 60 per cent in the next three years, and then—out altogether. Adoption of the Administration's soil-bank program with this revision: instead of paying the farmer cash for taking his land out of production, pay him off in surplus cotton at two-thirds the world price—and let him dispose of it as he sees fit. Exit the cotton surplus.

Mr. Hughes' plan has little chance of adoption in this or any other year, so long as there are more cotton farmers than cotton brokers; and so long as cotton-state Senators and Congressmen continue to be aware of this fact.

On "Actual" Philosophies

Every month, *McCall's* four and one-half million readers can visit Delphi; for Eleanor Roosevelt answers questions regularly in her column, "If You Ask Me." This month, the pilgrims asked whether Mrs. Roosevelt had played games with her children (she had not), and how *had* she managed to lose twenty pounds ("I drank less and ate less"). Then someone asked: "I was surprised and pleased to see where Henry A. Wallace is now supporting Eisenhower . . . [I] am wondering how you explain such a change of heart?" "I have no explanation," Mrs. Roosevelt wrote, "for Mr. Wallace's political positions. I have never understood his naíveté in not discovering the actual philosophy of the people he was working with."

Now the "actual philosophy" of the leaders and organizers of—to stick with the "A"'s alone—the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the American Youth Congress—was Communist. Mrs. Roosevelt "worked with" these conspiracies over a long period of years. But how could one expect that she could have succeeded in divining, if only afterwards, the "actual philosophy" of the Communists? She has not yet discovered the "actual philosophy" of her own husband.

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Poland: Eternal and Temporary

Lans, Austria

The will to resist varies a great deal in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, but visitors are more impressed by Poland than by any of the others. Even in the modern world, whose technical facilities for enslavement are practically limitless, the human element must be taken into consideration. Thus the Russians and the Germans proved more pliable material than the Poles, the Italians or, above all, the Spaniards. The most dispirited of all the satellite nations are the Czechs (not the Slovaks). They are plagued, it seems, by a bad conscience: they expelled the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia, and ever since they have been afraid that their victims, thirsting for revenge, might return in the wake of victoriously advancing Western armies. Thus they are tied to Moscow, paralyzed in their resistance and truly despondent. Western Germany's participation in NATO adds to their fears and apprehensions.

To most observers, the spirit of Poland appears to be different. That nation shows far greater courage and an insistence on free speech which is refractory to all control. Poland was partitioned during almost 150 years and it has a real tradition of tribal resistance—such as the Irish have, or the Armenians, or the French Canadians. To be deprived of sovereignty is no new experience to the Poles; and they know how to cope with such a situation. In addition (just as in the case of the Irish, or the French Canadians, or the Armenians) they have a Church which gives them spiritual comfort and, at the same time, a feeling of national belonging.

Poland today is demonstratively Catholic. Not only are the churches so full on Sundays that people have to stand in line waiting to be admitted, but each person passing by will tip his hat or make the sign of the Cross. The Soviet masters of the country, although they jail members of the hierarchy, priests and friars, have otherwise been careful in their dealings with religion. They have to. They had to permit the continuation of religious education in the state schools; they still finance the Catholic university in Lublin; they are building and rebuilding churches and cathedrals; they permit the mammoth pilgrimages to Czestochowa; they license Catholic publications.

Their most important work against the Church is within the Church: they try to undermine it, since all frontal attacks would fail. Even in these efforts they have difficulties, for they have to deal with a nation traditionally versed in conspiratorial techniques. Naturally, the state aid to religion makes Poland a show case for Leftist Catholics in the West, and many of them are fooled. The Poles are not.

Shabby and Noble

A visitor to Poland is struck by both the shabbiness and the nobility of the people. This is an aristocratic *and* a democratic nation, at one and the same time. Warsaw, before the war, was a city where the beggars used perfume and a worker kissed his wife's hand when he came home. The Polish nobility, on the other hand, never became a class. A nobleman could be a peasant, a stable boy, or a big landowner. Many leaders of the Socialist Party—Pilsudski was one of them—belonged to the *szlachta,* the Polish nobility (which, sometimes, had foreign titles— Polish titles never existed). Significantly enough, old Poland, before the partition, was an elective monarchy but was called a republic, the monarch being elected unanimously by the nobility—one tenth of the population, which acted as an enormous electoral college. It was always a proud, bright, witty, turbulent, and anarchical nation; but of just such material nations are made that do not bow to tyrants. Tyrants thrive on nations that are used to "law and order."

Poland still keeps its old coat of arms, the White Eagle. Yet it is no illusion that Moscow holds its heavy hand over this satellite state. The shop windows are showing goods as scanty and miserable as one saw in Germany and Austria in 1948; but an old Pole, looking at them with longing eyes, remarked recently to a friend of mine: "If only we had the money to buy these wonderful things!"

The real tragedy of Poland, however, has certain analogies with that of the Czechs. At the end of the last war, the country was deprived of its Eastern half and was given Eastern Germany instead. It occupies today almost the selfsame geographic location Poland had under Prince Mieszko in the tenth century.

Poland's "shift to the West" is a European tragedy. First of all, it is a tremendous handicap in the reestablishment of Polish-German amity, which, in turn, is essential for the common defense of the Occident. Furthermore, it involved mass emigration from areas with a minor population pressure into regions where the population is dense—from Eastern Poland to Eastern Germany, from Eastern Germany to Western Germany.

There is, of course, a fundamental difference between the Polish and the Czech cases. The expulsion of ten million East Germans was decided upon by the Big Three at Potsdam, and the decision bears the signatures not only of the USSR, but also of Britain and the United States. But the deportation of the Sudeten Germans was the work solely of the not-yet communistic Czech government under Dr. Edward Benes, who advocated this suicidal barbarism in 1942.

The Western powers, however, never accepted the Oder-Neisse line as a final German-Polish boundary. Neither did the Bonn government. Which means that the West encouraged the Warsaw government to annex Eastern Germany (as a compensation for Eastern Poland, which Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill had donated to Russia); but Messrs. Truman and Attlee, agreeing to the worst mass exile modern history has known, apparently did not want to acknowledge the annexation as permanent.

(Continued on p. 15)

Alger Hiss at Princeton

Two associates of *National Review* went to Princeton to report on what an Ivy League college did to the world's most notorious convict—and vice versa

The Honored Guest

Livingston Merchant, a Princeton alumnus and Ambassador-designate to Canada, said Hiss' appearance before Princeton's American Whig-Cliosophic Society would do the university irreparable harm. Perhaps not; but certainly it did the campaign to rehabilitate Alger Hiss immeasurable good. During 191 years of the now-merged literary societies' existence, the membership of Whig-Clio has included two Presidents and three Vice Presidents of the United States; 92 Federal and Supreme Court Justices; 22 Cabinet officers; 62 Senators, 21 Governors, and nearly 200 members of the House of Representatives. As an honored guest of *this* league, Hiss was back in the big time.

He looked as though he still couldn't believe it. Perhaps Burgess or MacLean, in the unlikely event of his addressing the Oxford Union, would feel equally uneasy. The auditorium, with its benign portraits, classic columns, and throne-like Victorian armchairs for the society's officers, was as solid and reassuring as the main hall of the Century Association in New York. But no one could predict the reaction of the crowd of 210 students who filled the main floor to capacity. They represented a little less than half the undergraduates in Whig-Clio. They had stood in line for tickets, and they had been checked through a carefully guarded door. Meanwhile, 55 metropolitan reporters had climbed into the gallery. The President of Whig-Clio made a brief introduction, and Hiss stepped forward.

He stood there, amazingly fit and youthful-looking at 51, still with that little touch of sharpness, like a clerk in a moderately good men's store, and began to talk in his studiedly well-modulated way. First he tried a little joke about "the second Battle of Princeton," and drew a chuckle. Then he tried a little joke about Geneva and gin — and drew a laugh. You could see that it was dawning on him (and it must have been as astonishing to him as it was to the observers in the gallery) that this crowd was not only not hostile; it was respectful and friendly. He turned to his manuscript and ploughed on through his talk.

Probably Hiss and his backers considered this an innocuous speech, and it did have a stupefying quality, as though someone were reading aloud a long think-piece from the *New York Times*. Nevertheless, one listened in vain for any reference to the continued malevolence of the World Communist Movement, or the many generous gestures of the U.S. which preceded the Geneva meetings. One got the idea that there are "world tensions" — a familiar phrase — and that the U.S. is at least 50 per cent responsible for these tensions by its stubborn insistence on trying to remain civilized and free. Very few speeches, in truth, are worth listening to; and this one was so outstandingly dreary, the audience wasn't sure it was over until the President stepped forward and asked for questions.

Most Politely

The young men proceeded to address Hiss with the same deeply respectful tones they would have used toward any other reputable authority.

One question was about Yalta. Well, Mr. Hiss naturally thought Yalta had been a pretty good show. (General chuckle.) Did Mr. Hiss, sir, think that the latter half of the Twentieth Century would be the half-century of Communism? (Mr. Hiss thought nothing of the sort.) So it went for a few minutes, until the President called a halt, and Hiss said, "I thank you for the courteous reception."

Then, one by one and two by two, students began standing up as they clapped their hands. Nearly all the undergraduates were on their feet when Hiss walked out. So it can be recorded as a fact that the former State Department prodigy, who lied his way into prison over the gravest matters of espionage and breach of trust — unrepentant — received a standing ovation as he left Whig Hall.

As I crossed the campus through the chilly evening, I reflected that this affair had aroused one of the bitterest controversies in Princeton's history. Princeton's administration had given a majestic demonstration of the workings of the Liberal mind.

Their official stand had been fully set forth in the afternoon at a press conference in Alexander Hall (where Dr. Kinsey's medicine show is to play on April 30 at 50 cents a head). Huddling in a corner of this huge auditorium, the reporters talked with Administrative Secretary Edgar M. Gemmell, who was introduced by the university's chief press officer, Edmund S. DeLong. Mr. Gemmell said that hundreds of communications had come in, some of them on the emotional side, and some (from non-Princetonians) wild and abusive. The "reasonable" people, however, had split about four to three in favor of permitting the young men to have Hiss as a guest.

It seemed that the Whig-Clios had bootlegged the Hiss invitation past the Dean's office, thus flouting established practice; so that the bid was accepted before the authorities in Nassau Hall even knew it was sent out. But if they *had* been informed in advance, as had hitherto been customary, the spokesman said, the reaction of the officials would have been the same: they would merely have "pointed out the possible serious consequences of such an invitation," leaving the final decision to the undergraduate officers of Whig-Clio.

Some people might think this

meant the administration was handing over its authority to a bunch of kids. But this was not so. An "educational principle" was involved. After all, the university said, these young men were only about twelve years old when Hiss was indicted. (I was only about ten when Babe Ruth broke into baseball.)

We were given press releases with an elaboration of this point of view from President Harold W. Dodds, in which he had been backed by 26 of 31 Trustees (one not voting). That statement is one of the most interesting documents issued by a leading educator in quite some time.

"We have sought to resolve this problem," it says, "not in terms of 'academic freedom' but in the deeper and more subtle terms of human freedom, and our obligation to our under-

graduates and to all young people who are preparing to assume the responsibilities of freedom in the future .... The parent or teacher must restrain his protective impulse, if the lesson is to be fully grasped. It's often not enough to *tell* a child the fire is hot. To learn the personal significance of fire, the child must sometimes burn himself. . . ."

I left the press conference and strolled toward Nassau Hall. This building was once the capitol of the United States. Here twenty Presidents of the United States have come at various times on various errands. Here the Reverend Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam received an honorary degree, as did Ralph Bunche, Linus Pauling and Harlow Shapley.

For some reason the thought of Shelley, an emotional fellow if ever there was one, came to my mind. I recalled how he wrote in *The Masque of Anarchy* that he saw Hypocrisy go by, riding on a crocodile.

One thing was certain: it was a great night for Alger Hiss.

FINIS FARR

The Counterstroke

The night before Alger Hiss regaled the Whig-Cliosophic Society a possibly more significant event happened on the Princeton campus. This was an anti-Hiss meeting promoted by Father Hugh Halton, Chaplain to the Roman Catholic students, and featuring Willard Edwards, veteran *Chicago Tribune* reporter, who was to speak on "The Meaning of Alger Hiss." Congressman T. James Tumulty, the shrewd, roly-poly Irishman from Jersey City, was also scheduled.

The College Administration openly disapproved of Father Halton's affair and covertly tried to block it. No single member of the faculty supported it. The student newspaper, the *Daily Princetonian,* called it "in questionable taste." Yet both faculty and students will in the future have reason to thank this determined priest for his crash operation, organized in less than a week; for now they will be able to remind critics that Princeton allowed "both sides" to be heard.

Father Halton has a host of enemies on the campus, accumulated in the course of several controversies since he came there in 1952. His militancy and, above all, his didactic Dominican logic have enhanced his reputation as a "controversial" figure.

When the meeting began, in the auditorium euphoniously named "McCosh 50," an audience of 500 had gathered — and as many were turned away. Father Halton and his mother, Rep. and Mrs. Tumulty, and Mr. and Mrs. Edwards entered to a storm of hisses and boos. While these were undoubtedly intended for Halton and Tumulty, the latter having lambasted the Hiss invitation on the House floor ("poison ivy in the Ivy League"), the ladies shared the barrage. (*Daily Princetonian*, Questionable Taste Editor, please copy.)

Hisses, horse-laughs and catcalls continued as Father Halton began his introduction, and they reached a crescendo as he declared this to be "Princeton's darkest hour." His excellent speech (to one who had the text) was largely drowned out. (*Daily Princetonian,* Freedom of Speech Editor, please copy.) He got one big cheer: when he suggested that a prostitute might as logically be invited to address the students on "purity."

Then Mr. Tumulty got up and ambled into the Tiger's mouth.

"Ladies, and if I may call you that, 'Gentlemen' of Princeton," he began. Weathering the gale, as he would ignore a shower of empty beer bottles in Jersey City, the doughty Mr. Tumulty then proceeded to enchant at least a part of his audience with a mixture of salty jokes and thrusting admonitions. He brought down the vaulted ceiling when he told them they "ought to be spanked on their Red aspirations." At the end the students gave him an enthusiastic hand.

Willard Edwards, who looks a good deal like Whittaker Chambers, was greeted with handclapping. He proceeded to put the students into a self-satisfied mood by announcing that he did not intend to argue the wisdom of the Hiss invitation ("Princeton's business") but rather to outline the facts of the Hiss case. He then made three main points:

The Real Hiss

First he described Hiss as a personality, on the basis of 500 hours of interviewing him and listening to him testify. He told how "sincere," plausible and boyishly clean-cut the man appears and how he (Edwards) and the other Washington reporters had at first been convinced of his innocence but later changed their minds.

Second, he wondered whether the students (most of whom were in junior high when Hiss was convicted) knew much about the case, and then went on to explain it in detail.

Third, he posted the students on four key questions that he thought should be asked Hiss. The first three dealt with Yalta. The fourth was the question of Hiss' reaction (or rather lack of any) to the 1952 testimony of Nathaniel Weyl that Hiss and Weyl had belonged to the same Communist cell in Washington. According to the newspapers, no pointed political questions were asked Hiss after his speech. (*Daily Princetonian,* The People's

(*Continued on p. 22*)

Letter from London

Eden's Fallacies

F. A. VOIGT

Egged on by their governments, the peoples of the West fall for the voodoo of "disarmament"

The White Paper just issued by the Foreign Office on the discussions between Sir Anthony Eden and Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev, endorses three dangerous fallacies:

a) that "disarmament" is necessarily conducive to peace;

b) that the "reduction of tension," as it is officially and unofficially called, is an object to be pursued at all times, and that every discussion or conference leading to such a "reduction" is *ipso facto* successful;

c) that conferences are a substitute for policy.

Let us examine these fallacies.

"Disarmament" would seem to be the most popular and the most dangerous of the three fallacies. It also receives the most persistent encouragement from all governments.

Armaments are relative, not absolute. If, let us say, Ruritania, Erewhon and Utopia agree to an all-round reduction of armaments by ten per cent, the relative strengths of these three powers will remain the same — other things being equal.

In practice, "other things" never are equal. The armed forces of every nation are an organic whole, always changing in response to changing circumstances. (the invention of new weapons, the emergence of new alliances, and so on). Fixed ratios tend to destroy, not to sustain, the balance of power. If Ruritania is a self-sufficient country with a large population, it will be less affected by an all-round reduction of armaments than Erewhon which is, say, dependent on overseas communications.

An agreed reduction of armaments would require a system of inspection. But the efficiency of any conceivable system of inspection is exceedingly doubtful, especially in a country like the Soviet Union (not to speak of China) where methods of deception have been developed to a fine art. It is another popular fallacy that an agreed reduction of armaments will dissipate suspicion. For such a system is bound to induce spying (as in Germany after the first World War) and an ever-growing distrust.

It is commonly assumed that disarmament will reduce taxation. But if disarmament is quantitative, there will be an increased expenditure on quality. The powers concerned will economize in a manner which will be to the advantage of the Soviet Union: it is best able to enforce lower pay, poorer quarters, longer hours, etc.

Every power solicitous for its own security must adapt its armaments and, therefore, its expenditure, not only to the existing armaments of other powers, but also to their *potentials*. The advantages are with a power which has a large potential that can be developed at short notice for warlike needs. Peacetime atomic energy, for example, may easily be turned to warlike ends, as Mr. Bulganin himself explained: when he addressed the conference of the European satellite states at Warsaw, he made a point of adding that "no system of control over atomic energy could be effective."

Now to the "reduction of tension." The international order is actually *maintained* by tensions, stresses, pressures and counterpressures. The security of the Atlantic Powers is maintained by pressures counteracting the pressures exercised by the Soviet Union. For the moment, the pressures exercised by the Atlantic Powers are rapidly becoming inadequate in the Middle East. Only by *increasing* the present "tension" can the Atlantic Powers save the Middle East from Russian penetration and domination.

In a conflict of the kind that divides the world today, a "reduction of tension" can only be conducive to peace if the expanding coalition (in this case the Soviet Union and Red China) begins to contract. Like "disarmament," a "reduction of tension" is a consequence, not a cause, of peace. The Atlantic Powers cannot hope to defend their vital interests unless they are prepared to increase their pressure on their adversaries.

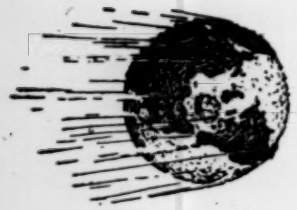
When a conference is officially described as having been "exploratory," or as having served to "exchange points of view" or to "promote mutual understanding," we can be quite sure that it has been useless. On all matters relating to any foreign power, a government is far better informed by its own ambassador, by its experts, and its secret services, than it ever will be by official conference delegates of that power.

As for the popular belief (which is very prevalent in Great Britain today) that the head of a foreign State or its prime minister or foreign secretary can learn something if he mixes with "the people" of another country, all that is to be said on that subject was said by Goethe more than a hundred years ago: "Never is a prince so ill informed as he is when he goes among the people to inform himself."

If we want something that is of value to the Soviet Union we must either offer something in exchange or apply pressure. Unless we know what we want, and what we are prepared to offer in exchange, or what form of pressure we are willing to exercise, it is useless to call a conference.

Such are the main fallacies. They have for more than a generation "darkened counsel," obscured the realities of the international situation, and played into the hands of the predatory powers. The fallacy relating to disarmament is the most dangerous. But all these illusions are dangerous in varying degree; and they are all encouraged by governments who wish to conceal the realities they are themselves unwilling to face.

Apart from the palpable dangers which these fallacies may engender, they are a form of official propaganda that is incompatible with common honesty and straight dealing. They rob the Western governments of the right to adopt a tone of moral superiority towards the cruder but perhaps less pharisaical deceits that are practised by the men of the Kremlin.



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Socialists and the United Front

To: The Secretariat
From: Intelligence Section
Subject: Outlook for United Front Tactic

Our new directives, stressing united and popular front tactics, call for an active approach to Socialist parties and individuals. A number of Socialist leaders, including those who attended the recent international conference in Switzerland, have made speeches rejecting our united front overtures.

Haakon Lie, the leader of the Socialist Norwegian Labor Party, has written: "We know that every Communist success in establishing a united front or a popular front has meant a strengthening of the Communist Party and a weakening of the Socialist Party."

In view of this negative response, certain comrades have expressed doubts concerning the viability of the united front tactic. We have been ordered to submit an estimate of its prospects, which here follows in summary. Supporting data and detailed analysis are attached.

We note initially that these doubts reflect a subjective deviation, a failure to see through the verbal smoke of individual Socialists to the dynamic reality of Social Democracy as a historical tendency.

United Front Dialectic

Our objective in a united front operation is to gain access to the adherents of a non-Communist (and therefore enemy) organization in order to win them over to us while we expose and isolate their leaders. Haakon Lie is entirely correct in asserting that once a united front proposal is in any measure accepted, the net result must be to our benefit. Many other individual Socialists know this to be true. Nevertheless, with only rare exceptions, it is impossible for Socialist organizations to resist our united front proposals when we advance them persistently.

We here list characteristics of Socialism that render it vulnerable to the united front tactic:

1) Socialist ideology is abstract and metaphysical, not concrete and dialectical. Thus Socialists conceive of a particular goal as "good in itself" or "bad in itself" apart from its function in the concrete revolutionary process. A step toward racial integration, a wage increase, a colony become independent, a disarmament move is "good." A segregated school, an act of censorship, a new bomb or a military conscription, is "bad."

Therefore the Socialists are caught when we put forward as the basis for a united front one or more of the "good" goals or a struggle against "bad" ones. They have no objective argument against uniting in pursuit of aims they themselves profess.

Socialist formalism is also shown by the failure to recognize a united front unless it is constituted by a formal agreement. A united front exists, of course, wherever, and to the extent that, there is de facto collaboration between Communists and others. Guy Mollet's failure to acknowledge the united front character of the vote that made and keeps him Premier of France does not alter the reality.

2) Wherever Socialism is more than a small sect, its *essence* is parliamentary. That is, the supreme practical goal of Socialism is votes in elections and in parliament. Therefore, if our comrades control a substantial block of votes, especially if these are in a balance-of-power ratio, the Socialists cannot long refuse some form of voting collaboration. Like Gronchi and Mollet, the Socialists may protest their anti-Communism; but they will accept Communist votes.

The Socialists in a parliament can avoid the united front (when aggressively offered) only by refusing to accept a majority which depends on Communist votes. Generally speaking, the parliamentary essence of Socialism makes this refusal impossible.

3) Socialists share the modern "mystique of the Left," which identifies progress and the future of mankind with "the Left." Further, they accept Communism as an element of the Left. It is difficult for them to oppose fellow Leftists steadily. It is almost impossible if the Right element is regarded as "reactionary" or "fascist."

4) Most basic is the fact that Socialists share many of our doctrinal foundations, including some of our basic axioms. Socialism, also, is materialist, collectivist, egalitarian, anti-clerical, anti-colonial, etc. The Socialist resistance to our approach is therefore subverted at its roots. In their metaphysical hearts, Socialists feel us to be only more consistent and courageous versions of themselves.

This is why, when an ultimate showdown comes — that is, when shooting starts—the Socialists never fight against us. The Right shoots us. The Socialists either capitulate, or fight beside us against the Right.

History Repeats the Lesson

This analysis is confirmed by experience. Leon Blum was an anti-Communist, but that did not prevent the French Socialist Party, under his leadership, from joining the Popular Front of the thirties. The Spanish Socialists fought with us against Franco.

Today the renewed united front tactic makes rapid progress on every continent. In some countries the Socialists join formally with us (Italy, Ceylon, Brazil, Greece); in others (Italy, France) the Government depends on our parliamentary votes; in most, Socialists support our proposals on disarmament, colonies, East-West trade, co-existence; in almost all, Socialist leaders have accepted our invitations to visit Moscow.

There may be minor holdouts (Austria, perhaps, West Berlin . . .) but we may confidently expect increasing returns from the united front tactics so long as our general strategy decrees its employment. And we gain no matter what the Socialists do. If they accept a united front, we get an inside position from which to influence their followers. If they refuse, we expose them as the enemies of unity and peace.

MRA: Coexistence through Apology

The addicts of Moral Re-Armament, says the author, have reached that dangerous stage of enthusiasm where they believe their own (Red?) propaganda

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN

All those who are interested in saving the world from the World-Savers will do well to keep an eye on the activities of Moral Re-Armament (MRA), formerly known as the Oxford Group. And the man upon whom this scrutiny should center is a forty-ish, ascetic looking British journalist and playwright named Peter Howard, who seems destined to overshadow as Supreme Prophet (if he has not already done so) the aging founder of this "militant, revolutionary ideology," Dr. Frank Buchman.

The propaganda plays written by this emerging modern Messiah have increasingly vilified the West and all it stands for, while at the same time they have praised Communism with faint damns. He castigates the entire West for its smoking, drinking and immorality; but he excuses the Communists for such lesser foibles as treaty-breaking, police tyranny and slave labor. The West's worst sin against humanity, according to Mr. Howard, is dat ole Debil "materialism" (read: "capitalism"). But Communism's materialism, as evinced by an ambition to loot the free world, is, he indicates, eminently justifiable.

Twenty-seven casts (by Mr. Howard's count) in Europe, America, Africa and Asia are performing these plays, admission free, and the MRA magazine exhibits pictures of Asian and African audiences howling with glee at the spectacle of Westerners making asses of themselves.

The current *pièce de résistance* is a musical called *The Vanishing Island,* which, as this is written, is playing in Germany after a globe-circling tour in U.S. Air Force transport planes. The latter were provided for the company of 250 by that well-known idealist, Harold Talbott, in his last official act before being heaved out of the Pentagon.

Americans who may consider MRA to be a phenomenon of little importance are hereby warned that it carries far more relative weight in Europe (especially in England, Switzerland and the Scandinavian nations) than in the United States. Its leveraged impact in Asian and African countries, where major portions of the intelligentsia see its touring political plays, is probably still greater.

Before reviewing three of these plays, it may be well to summarize some personal impressions of this Group that seriously believes it is about to "remake the world" in its own image. MRA people are more anxious to tell what their thing is *not* than they are to explain, except in infuriatingly vague terms, what it *is;* so the following description is necessarily played, in part, by ear.

Ideology of "Change"

Moral Re-Armament is an "ideology," founded by Frank Buchman, an American professor, in 1921. It includes the band of people called the Oxford Group. In Dr. Buchman's words: "The Oxford Group is the leadership. MRA is the philosophy," although the name MRA was not adopted until 1938.

It is about the Oxford Group (an appellation they seem to have dropped some time during the past decade, but which is employed here for lack of any other term) that its people are so reticent. They maintain that there is no organization, membership or chain of command, although this is difficult to believe in view of the real estate they hold, the conventions and plays they stage, and the literature they publish. Admittedly, there are "full-time workers" who receive no salary, and who are reputed to have signed all their earthly resources over to the Group. But how many of these workers there are, or who directs them and pays their expenses, seems to be classified information.

There is no secret, however, about their philosophy. It is Dr. Buchman's synthesis of the principles enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount: the practice of *"absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness* and *love."* By "listening" to the direction of God, they believe, men can "change" their human nature so as to conform to these standards. The Group is out to "change" everybody, including Khrushchev and Bulganin. Last, but not least, is the practice of vocal repentance, or "apologizing" as they call it. This self-mortification should be enacted before as large an audience as possible. Peter Howard's last play, which apologizes on behalf of the West, before world-wide audiences, for misdeeds of which most Westerners never were guilty, carries the doctrine to its Ultima Thule.

The Christian inspiration for this philosophy was emphasized in MRA writings until a few years ago. Of late, however, since the Group injected itself into world politics, it has been played down, apparently in an effort to avoid antagonizing Buddhists, Moslems and other Asians and Africans who are currently MRA's priority targets. In the three Howard plays we are about to deal with, neither Christ nor Christianity is once mentioned.

MRA headquarters are at Caux, Switzerland, where the Group owns a huge hotel on a mountaintop above Montreux by Lake Geneva. An international congress meets there every summer, with thousands of MRA adherents and guests passing through during the season. The Caux show (which I attended in 1955) is certainly the most dramatic evangelism since Aimee Semple McPherson's. Peter Howard's plays are performed almost every evening.

Who, then, is Peter Howard? By his own account, he was a successful and cynical political writer on Lord Beaverbrook's London *Daily Express*

until just before the war, when an accidental encounter with an Oxford Grouper suddenly "changed" him from scribe to Pharisee. This cost him his job, and he sat out the war running a farm and doing week-end inspirational stints with servicemen at the MRA London hostel.

After the war he turned his writing talents to the production of books about MRA, and these soon became the prime grist for its propaganda mill. They have sold over 2,000,000 copies, with the royalties to MRA. Mr. Howard's series of political plays began in 1954.

For Captive Audiences

The first of these plays, *The Dictator's Slippers,* which I saw at Caux, is amateurish in construction and boringly verbose. The plot concerns the death of a Communist tyrant whose fellow Politburocrats are just choosing up sides for a mutual purge when the Dictator's former secretary happens in. This functionary has lately been on a foreign mission to Geneva where, in a way not explained, he got infected with the ideology of MRA. In ten minutes he brings about a group conversion that would shame Billy Graham and "changes" the feuding rulers of world Communism into true believers in unselfishness, purity and love. Then, with the shining faces of schoolgirls on their way to their first dance, these "remade" men dispatch a telegram to the Western powers, agreeing to a Summit conference that will blow the whistle on the Cold War. Curtain.

Commercially, this "play" would not have had any audience at all after the first act; but MRA has been performing it before captive audiences for three years. The night I saw it, it was wildly applauded, though most of the people there must have seen it a number of times before.

Incredible as it may sound, the denouement of this play represents Mr. Howard's straight-faced "solution" to the menace of Communism, *i.e.,* the bet on a miraculous "change" in the hearts of the Kremlin criminals. Incidentally, this dreamy dogma may be a recrudescence of an MRA illusion of 1939. According to a former member of the Oxford Group, they believed then, and still believe, that they had a good chance of "changing" Adolph

Hitler into a peacemaker, if only the Western powers had not provoked things by being so belligerent.

The second Peter Howard play at Caux was *The Man with the Key,* a far superior effort dramatically and production-wise. The scene is the country house of a British Foreign Minister who has invited the other delegates at a deadlocked conference (American, French and Soviet) for the week end in the unlikely hope of bringing their irreconcilable views together. The Briton is obtusely Blimpish, the Frenchman a Latin caricature, and the American a foul-mouthed jackanapes. But the Soviet delegate is dignified, articulate and sincere.

The inevitable flash "change" in these worldly men is sparked by the host's once spoiled daughter who has, herself, been "changed" by the butler, a secret MRA agent. Things get a bit sticky for a while when the Foreign Minister discovers that his daughter has been leaking sensitive information to the Soviet Ambassador during social calls. But all is forgiven when the Russian explains that he had welcomed her to his house, not to extract secrets, but only because his wife never got invited to tea parties and was lonesome. One by one, the four diplomats acknowledge that they have "changed"; and peaceful coexistence looms as the curtain goes down.

During the intermission a beaming Grouper read a cablegram about 500 words long from the touring company of *The Vanishing Island.* The message was from Kenya, and its glowing words conveyed the impression that the ill will of the Mau Mau had now, at last, been dispelled by MRA.

The Vanishing Island was first produced in California in June 1955, with the help of Hollywood professionals. After a short stand in Washington, it went on its world tour by way of Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, Thailand, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Kenya, Turkey and Switzerland. Later it toured Scandinavia, Finland, France and Germany, with the size of the Mission rising to 350. Among this number were small-time politicos (mostly out of office) from various lands, whom the promotional releases describe as "statesmen."

The play is written, in a fair imitation of the Gilbert and Sullivan style, by Peter Howard and Cecil Broadhurst, though just how much blame can be attached to the latter is hard to say. Mr. Howard, in his book, *An Idea To Win the World* (the story of the play and its travels), scarcely mentions his collaborator, and some of the publicity puffs ignore him altogether. To date *The Vanishing Island* has been published in eleven languages.

It is the story of two countries, Eiluph'mei (I love me) and Weiheit'tiu (We hate you). The Groupers think this nomenclature cute as hell.

The scene opens in the island of Eiluph'mei (that's us), where "liberty" means "license," and freedom of the press is "the freedom to spy" and "lie." The feckless inhabitants are all filthy rich and corrupt, and are also ridiculed for their inane habit of holding elections. The leaders have names like Bullfrog, Muddle, Malfeasance, Highball and Bible, symbolizing their utter depravity.

Enter "Odioso," Ambassador from Weiheit'tiu—a fine looking, clean-cut type, though possessed of Molotov manners—with an ultimatum from "the people" of his country, demanding that Eiluph'mei share its ill-gotten wealth with them. The Eiluph'meis fatuously reject the ultimatum, but decide to send a delegation to reason with the enemy (*i.e.,* to trick him).

Act II shifts to the land of Weiheit'tiu. Here "the people" sing a militant marching song, showing that they are behind Odioso 100 per cent in their determination to square accounts with the "exploiters." Then there is a

touching scene where a Weiheit'tiu mother holds up her baby and implores Odioso to ease up a bit for her son's sake. It is here that Odioso betrays the clue that he is really a nice guy underneath, by momentarily weakening. But, brushing away a tear, he hardens again.

The scene moves back to Eiluph'mei where a "witch hunt," no less, is in frantic swing. After suitably disgracing themselves in this manner, the inhabitants suddenly notice that their island is beginning to fade away at the edges. In these desperate straits everybody agrees to "change" and to work for a better world, presumably by "sharing" with Weiheit'tiu. When Odioso arrives at the head of his invading "people," he receives grovelling apologies from the leaders of Eiluph'mei for their past errors, and this persuades him, too, to "change" and work together for a better world. So they all live happily forever after.

This fable is offered by the MRA "statesmen" as conclusive evidence that the building of "a new world" is, as they put it, "so near at hand." In his book Mr. Howard cites a nameless "leading Communist of Burma, a man who until that time was bitterly pro-neutralist" (some Communist!), who came up at the end of the play and asked: "Is what I saw on the stage true?" "Being assured that it was . . . the man said: 'This means that I have to rethink everything. . . '" By assuring the Burmese that the events in this comic opera were "true," Mr. Howard shows that he has arrived at that dangerous stage where he believes his own propaganda.

MRA literature quotes many favorable comments on the play from people, some of them famous, in Asia and elsewhere. But it is not unnatural that, like all theatrical press blurbs, it should quote the good notices and skip the bad. In a few instances where adverse foreign criticism got back to the U.S. press, Mr. Howard goes to elaborate lengths in his book to impugn the motives of the critics.

One chapter of the book (titled: "The Petty Plots and Plans of Men") reads like a whodunit, with sinister forces in and out of the U.S. State Department trying to sabotage the tour again and again. Invariably, without naming names or offering evidence, Mr. Howard attributes these efforts to Communists, or to dissipated Reactionaries fearing for their absinthe, opium and dancing girls.

In other ways, too, Mr. Howard is intolerant of the least dissent. While on Formosa he made a broadcast to the mainland, in which he apologized to the Chinese for "the steely selfishness of Western business" in "exploiting" them. To the resulting charge of anti-Americanism he furiously retorted that he had referred to Britain, not the U.S. But he did not explain that to the Chinese. He also threw out a scornful dig at " 'experts' who never change men themselves, but are quick to . . . criticize and advise."

Waiting for Nikita

This feeling that he is "changing men" appears to have intoxicated Mr. Howard to such an extent that he makes sweeping claims of "millions" who have been regenerated through MRA. (No proof is attempted.) Furthermore, he does not hesitate to advance contradictory ideas, with equal cocksureness on each side. Typical is his caustic criticism of *Porgy and Bess* as being an unsuitable American play to show to foreigners, because of the poverty, vice and rough stuff it contains. While he may be right about this, *Porgy* is not nearly as bad in that direction as Mr. Howard's own *Vanishing Island,* which depicts *everyone* in the West as degenerate and stupid.

An example of how the play affects some Asians is given in his book, where he quotes a Chinese as remarking after the performance: "If America and Britain conquered Communism today by force of arms, and themselves remained as they are now, the world would be no better off." Mr. Howard says that this represents the views of millions in Asia. This may or may not be so; but it is crystal-clear that it represents the views of Peter Howard and, so far as I can discover, of the entire Oxford Group.

The alternative is signaled by the quotation, at the end of *An Idea To Win the World,* of a statement by Nikita S. Khrushchev, which concludes: "Capitalism is dying and . . . the star of Socialism is rising." Mr. Howard prints the tyrant's views without comment, but the hint is plain: we had better all hurry up and "change," so as to be ready, when Nikita gets here, to join with him in "remaking the world."

POLAND

(*Continued from* p. 8)

Today the West is unanimously convinced that the Oder-Neisse Line is impossible. But the East insists on it. Thus we have two German problems—reunification of the Bonn Republic with Central Germany *and* recovery of the German East. Poles have settled in fairly large numbers in Eastern Germany, where they are rebuilding destroyed industries, tilling the soil, reconstructing the historic hearts of bombed cities in purest German medieval style. They do not want to give up this land; yet at the same time they realize that their possession is not internationally recognized and that the real Germans (which excludes the Quisling government of red Pankow) expect its eventual return. This creates a hopeless problem for the Polish exiles from Eastern Poland (now annexed by Russia) who know well that Eastern Germany's incorporation into Poland was cleverly designed to prevent Poland from ever coming to terms with Germany.

No legitimate German government could ever relinquish its claim to Eastern Germany. But Bonn has made valiant efforts to start moderate conversations with free Poles on the subject, and many a responsible German tries to produce a formula acceptable to both the free Germans and the free Poles. Adenauer himself has spoken of some sort of condominium. Baron von Esebeck, editor in chief of *Europaischer Osten,* propagates a German-Polish ethnic coexistence which would make political boundaries irrelevant.

Curiously enough, World War II created a German sentiment which hardly existed before—a genuine German respect for the Poles. Many Germans feel guilty in the case of Poland. (They feel practically no guilt in the case of Bohemia-Moravia.)

Recently I met in Vienna a Polish refugee. We spoke about Teheran, Yalta, the Potsdam agreement, and the Western powers. About the latter he said tersely: "Either they were honest, then they were immensely stupid. Or they really knew the facts, then they were completely dishonest. In either case—how could one ever respect them?"

Confusion in Texas

Lyndon Johnson Rallies the Faithful— But Governor Shivers May Win Control

(*Continued from* p. 2)

it is possible that Lyndon is playing both ends against the middle? The middle being America, the South, and Texas; the ends [being] ADA, CIO, NAACP, where the big vote lies . . . I guess these socialistic, internationalistic one-worlders have got us—they and the Commie-infested United Nations."

On the other hand, Senator Byrd has endorsed the Johnson Presidential boom, which makes him a Texas Liberal although no blood brother of Humphrey and Lehman.

As a matter of political history, the feuding and the name-calling did not originate in the present struggle for the state delegation, nor even in the split of '52. The first split came in the great intramural quarrel of 1948 when many Democrats broke with their party to support the States' Rights ticket of the then Governors Strom Thurmond and Fielding Wright. Texas did *not* join in that revolt. But the unsuccessful rebellion in which the States' Rights party won 38 electoral votes paved the way for the Texas breakway four years later.

The bolt did not come at the Convention of 1952 in the loyalty-oath fight, nor when Stevenson was nominated, but after Governor Shivers had a conference with the candidate on the question of offshore oil rights among other subjects. Stevenson favored Federal control. Shivers broke with Stevenson and marshalled his forces into an organization of Eisenhower Democrats. In the ensuing campaign, states' rights versus federal domination became one of the key issues throughout the South. It contributed to Eisenhower's victory in Texas, Virginia and Florida and gave him a respectable percentage of the vote in all other Southern states.

Conditions are not the same today as they were in 1952, but the basic Conservative-Liberal division remains unchanged and intensified. Allen Shivers, however, is nearing the end of his term as Governor, and possibly his power is declining.

In addition to the support of Speaker Rayburn, Lyndon Johnson has the backing of the so-called Democratic Advisory Committee and some help from national party leaders.

The Johnson faction charges that a deal is cooking between Shivers and the Eisenhower Administration. A recent visit by Attorney General Brownell to the Shivers home renewed rumors heard earlier in Washington that a bargain is in the making. There is even a rumor that Shivers rather than Nixon is slated for the GOP Vice-Presidency. A more plausible tale is that Shivers will be rewarded with a Cabinet post or a federal judgeship for his help in carrying Texas for the President.

Under the Texas system, delegates to the national convention are chosen in primary conventions at three levels —precinct, county and state. The state convention is set for May 22. As usual, there are charges and countercharges of pressure and trickery at the precinct and county levels. The South Texas political organization, bossed by the notorious George Parr, is backing Senator Johnson, and the Parr-controlled Duval County Executive Committee is in the Johnson camp.

In West Texas, Shivers supporters charge that "arrangements" were "fixed" so that precinct voters had to go to the homes of Johnson supporters to cast their ballots. E. M. Pooley, editor of the *El Paso Herald Post*, in a column of commentary remarked that "they [the precinct conventions] have been pretty well fixed by the Lyndon Johnson supporters, and the 'uninstructeds' who are for Allen Shivers are gnashing teeth and crying out loud. Four years ago the 'uninstructeds' did the same thing . . . The pot calls the kettle black and the kettle says you're blacker, and both are right . . ."

If Lyndon Johnson's candidacy should become more than a favorite-son gambit, there would be little question of any defection in Texas. But there are two factors which make this highly unlikely. In the first place, Senator Johnson, like President Eisenhower, had a serious heart attack last year. Medical testimony proclaims him fit and he is much younger than Mr. Eisenhower; and so Johnson's physical condition probably would not be an insuperable barrier to the nomination—if it were his only handicap. But unfortunately for the Senator he is *not* a blood brother of the Northern Liberals and their bias could be more than sufficient to prevent his nomination by the controlled Convention delegates.

If Johnson is eliminated, and the nomination goes to Harriman or Kefauver or Stevenson, there is a chance that Texas will again swing to Eisenhower. Before such a possibility can be analyzed, however, the present battle for control of the convention delegation must run its course.

If Shivers wins control, he may lead his delegates out of the Party if a Liberal is nominated. It could be the first step toward a third-party movement or a Democratic Eisenhower ticket. If, on the other hand, Johnson is in charge the Texas delegation will probably go along with anyone named by the convention. And under such circumstances it might be far more difficult to organize pro-Eisenhower opposition at the state level. But there is also the third possibility that the convention will nominate a dark horse—Senator Stuart Symington, for example.

In my travels across Texas I found professional opinion sharply divided on the question whether Johnson or Shivers would control the delegation to the national convention. R. O. Zollinger, veteran political observer of the *Austin Statesman*, foresees a Shivers victory, and his analysis is supported by plenty of evidence.

In the six months that have elapsed since my previous visit to Texas there seems little change in public sentiment concerning the President. He is still very popular. But in 1952 his popularity was immensely enhanced by a strident animosity toward the Democratic high command. The anti-Truman sentiment, although Truman was not a candidate, meant many thousands of votes for General Eisenhower. How true this is today, no one can tell. And it is worth recalling that in 1952 Eisenhower had a margin of only 133,650 votes out of more than two million Texas ballots.

THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Fourteenth Amendment Legislation

It is harvest time now in the legal world. The appellate courts begin their sessions in October; in the more important and controversial cases, argument, consideration, majority and dissenting opinion writing occupy the fall and winter; the decisions and opinions are announced in the spring.

The 1956 harvest has been so conspicuous for the restrictions imposed on the states by the Supreme Court in the name of the Fourteenth Amendment that I have been reminded of an ancient controversy between Prof. Edward S. Corwin and myself—a mild, sedate and obscure controversy, it should be added.

A number of years ago Prof. Corwin published a book entitled *Liberty Under Government—The Rise, Flowering and Decline of a Famous Juridical Concept.* The concept to which Prof. Corwin referred was that "due process of law" related to the substantive effect of welfare and regulatory legislation as well as to judicial procedures. At the request of the *American Historical Review* I wrote a review of Prof. Corwin's book for its July, 1949 issue, describing the book as

> an excellent . . . account of the judicial theory by which judges avoided the enforcement of statutes which they found particularly offensive. The Roman and English courts and commentators had used such expressions as "common right and reason," "law fundamental" and "natural liberty," but courts of our country had a handier weapon, the due process clauses of their respective constitutions.
>
> . . . Judges seemed extremely apt to decide this question [of whether or not a welfare or regulatory statute took property without due process of law] according to their views of the merits of the statute. Being lawyers who had achieved eminence in a society of capitalism and "rugged individualism" they were not so prone as social workers and legislators to see the need of such legislation. Many a reform measure was held unconstitutional.

Many of these decisions were by a close vote, often five to four, and conspicuous among the dissenters were the late Justices Holmes and Brandeis.

Such decisions were condemned by Liberals, who found irrefutable the opinions of Justices Holmes and Brandeis that the practice was an undue extension of judicial prerogative.

The Old Deal Supreme Court capitulated on this front in March 1937. Subsequent "appointees were enthusiastic believers in social welfare legislation. No longer were such statutes found to take property without due process of law. The issue was dead."

So far Prof. Corwin and I had agreed. But I complained that Prof. Corwin had not made "clear the role of the Fourteenth Amendment under the New Deal court" and I argued that the "famous juridical concept" had not suffered a "decline" but was "flowering" in a different area.

> That [New Deal] court is fully as eager as its predecessors to enforce its social views by any reasonably tenable theory, and it, too, has found in the Fourteenth Amendment a useful tool. [In the name of the Fourteenth Amendment] the court has undertaken the regulation of local picketing, the activities of Jehovah's witnesses, "released time" in public schools, and the like.

The Court v. the States

In the 1956 harvest the Supreme Court has twice applied the Fourteenth Amendment so as severely to limit state government (*Slochower v. New York and Griffin v. Illinois*). Both decisions were by five to four majorities, and each time the majority consisted of Justices Warren, Black, Frankfurter, Douglas and Clark, and the minority of Justices Reed, Burton, Minton and Harlan. And in both cases the dissenting justices wrote persuasive opinions maintaining that the majority decision was in the nature of legislation.

In the Slochower case the Court held unconstitutional Section 903 of the New York City Charter providing that any city employee who invoked the privilege against self-incrimination ("Fifth Amendment") thereby lost his job. The merit of such a statute may be debatable, but it is difficult to understand how it can take property without due process of law. Can not a public employer condition employment upon responsive answers to the proper questions of public authorities? And in view of the countless decisions holding that an adverse inference may be drawn from silence *per se*, and the numerous decisions holding that such an inference may be drawn from silence based upon pleading the Fifth Amendment, may not a public employer insist that its employees not subject themselves, and thereby the institutions which employ them, to adverse influences? May they not, in short, require that their employees show that candor which is indispensable if they are to retain the confidence of the public?

In *Griffin v. Illinois* the Court held that the Illinois statute, adopted in 1827, providing for appeals in criminal cases, was administered unconstitutionally because a free transcript of the stenographic minutes was not furnished defendants who said they could not pay for one. The statute, said Justice Black, denied "adequate appellate review to the poor while granting it to all others." The dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan observes that the Court's "holding produces the anomalous result that a constitutional admonition to treat all persons equally means in this instance that Illinois must give to some what it requires others to pay for." Furnishing free transcripts has been undertaken increasingly by the states in the last thirty years and by the federal government in 1944; at present thirty-four states do so, in five instances with substantial qualifications. Certainly no one can condemn legislation making provision for free transcripts. But it is hard to believe that criminal appeals have been unconstitutionally administered from the beginning of that type of jurisprudence until transcripts were furnished in recent years. It is also hard to deny the logical force of the dissenting opinion.

The famous juridical concept still flowers.

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

What Makes a Teacher?

Everyone is telling us, sometimes in terms not much short of panic, that America is going to be desperately hard up for teachers in the next few years. It is curious, therefore, to observe in Michigan a deliberate effort by the State Board of Education to discourage promising young people from becoming schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. This movement is called "improving professional standards."

The State Board of Education (the members of which are elected by popular vote, but are selected, in reality, by the hierarchy of the National Education Association and the Michigan Education Association, almost without exception) have advanced an elaborate scheme for "teacher certification," designed to alter radically the present requirements for obtaining a teacher's certificate. This "Certification Code"—which the State Board can make mandatory upon all institutions that train teachers—is a turgid document, stuffed with several of those long lists of "objectives" that gladden the heart of the average professional educationist. Its salient features are a proposed increase of fifty per cent in the number of credits required in "education" courses; a reduction in subject-matter courses; the creation of a new sort of certificate, "general provisional" and "general continuing," which would entitle holders to teach all grades from kindergarten to the final year of high school; the requirement of forty semester hours in "general and/or liberal education," which requirement the State Board is unable even to describe; the arrogation to the Board of control of curricula and course-content in all teacher-training colleges; the establishment of the Board as, *de facto,* an accrediting agency. Some of these proposals are shrouded in uncouth verbiage; but that they represent the very worst aspects of what Professor Arthur Bestor calls "educational wastelands," anyone familiar with the controversies in American education will perceive without much difficulty.

The cleverest enemy of popular education scarcely could devise a scheme better calculated to impede the recruiting of teachers. For the real cause of discouragement, among young people inclined toward a career in teaching, is not low salaries; nor is it the alleged "climate of fear" which the Fund for the Republic is so eager to discover. The real cause is the boredom and frustration imposed upon the prospective teacher and the working teacher by dreary courses in pedagogy, together with the bullying by the educationist hierarchy throughout his career which is his probable future. The proposed Certification Code would increase this burden and rivet these chains more thoroughly.

It is a very bad Code indeed; and it is an old-fashioned Code, in the bad sense of that phrase, for it reflects dully the educationist slogans and shallow assumptions of twenty years ago. Not a single organization of scholars or teachers has endorsed this plan. On the contrary, the colleges of education at the University of Michigan and at Michigan State University forthrightly oppose the Code; so do the Colleges of Science and Arts at those institutions; so do the leading chapters of the Association of University Professors in Michigan; so does the American Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters; so do more than a score of other influential institutions and associations. Various teachers' groups have protested against it.

Yet the State Board has the power to impose its Code, without legislative approval, upon all the protesters; and it will, unless sufficiently impressed by the resolution of its opposition. Among the other things the State Board would like to effect through this Code are a persistent harassing of teachers through "progressive" requirements for taking more and more education-courses, and getting more and more degrees, throughout their career, if they want advancement or even tenure; and an increase in required education-credits for secondary-school certificates of fifty per cent, from thirty term-hours to forty-five. (The national average is twenty-seven.) All this in the name of "higher professional standards"!

In the light of the almost unanimous denunciation of the proposed Code by the people in Michigan who know anything about teaching and training teachers, how are we to account for the obduracy of the State Board? I attended a public hearing on the question which the Board held at Mt. Pleasant, last month. Scarcely a voice was raised in defense of the Code, except for the rather huffy declarations of the Board representatives themselves that all they wanted to do was "raise standards" and "develop more understanding teachers." There presided a member of the Board, an industrial executive (Gerber Foods), who murmured somewhat plaintively that teachers "ought to know more about human nature" and therefore ought to abjure mere "subject-matter" and take courses in educational psychology. He had been thoroughly spoon-fed with the pabulum of what Mr. David Riesman calls "the patronage network of Teachers College, Columbia."

Now anyone who has ever taught knows that you cannot make a good teacher through compelling him to take "Principles of Human Nature 431." The art of teaching is a much more subtle affair than that. To treat knowledge of character and aptitudes as a pedagogical abstraction, learnt through formal and boring courses, is to diminish real understanding of the principles of knowledge, of human nature, and of pedagogy. You do not feed "education" to a candidate for the teaching profession as if you were stuffing him with baby-food—not if you want decent teachers, or any teachers at all. For the best way to attract promising people to teaching is to act upon the assumption that they are adults, possessed of some decent intellectual discipline, in which they take pride, and which they desire to communicate to their students.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Home Run by Free Enterprise

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Germany is the key sector of the cold war. It is there that the stakes are highest, that victory promises the richest fruits, that defeat would be nothing short of catastrophe. Looking first on the optimistic side, let us imagine that the appearance of the new army of the Federal Republic, deployed along the zonal boundary, the bands playing the old German military marches, lets loose an uncontrollable wave of sentiment for reunion in freedom in the Soviet Zone. Desertion from the Soviet Zone armed forces, already considerable, assumes a mass character.

Given these assumptions, it is by no means incredible that, even though the Red Army would be strong enough, in theory, to hold down the Zone, the situation would become politically unmanageable. Germany would be reunited in the only manner that would make reunion worth while, by the complete collapse of the Soviet puppet regime. Such a development would represent a real and probably decisive turn in the tide of the cold war. Some eighteen million Germans, most of them passionate anti-Communists as a result of their experience under Soviet domination, would be transferred from the camp of totalitarianism to the camp of freedom.

The effect of such a change would be felt far beyond the frontiers of Germany. The whole Soviet satellite empire would begin to creak on its rickety bases. It is a serious question whether the Soviet regime itself could survive such a major political defeat.

On the other hand, the triumph in Germany of some form of negative neutralism, the replacement of Chancellor Adenauer's government, firm and unwavering in its Western orientation, by some government that would be willing to walk into one of Molotov's bear traps, would be about as grave a disaster to the cause of freedom as could well be imagined. Without full German military and political cooperation the present American strategy of maintaining large ground forces in Europe would not be justified. If Germany goes, Europe goes.

Despite the immense importance of Germany in our diplomatic and military calculations, there is a distinct dearth of good, reliably informative books about Germany since the war. This is why some Americans, and more Britons and French, persist in asking the wrong questions: Is there a danger in assisting German rearmament? —when the real danger is that the Germans themselves will delay and dally too long with their rearming. Or, aren't the Germans too militaristic?—when the *right* question is whether the Germans, after crushing defeat, denazification, war-crimes trials and the myriad questions connected with partition, have retained enough of their traditional military spirit to play the role for which modern history has cast them: that of active participation in the eastward march of Western civilization.

Alistair Horne, correspondent in Germany for one of Britain's better newspapers, the *Daily Telegraph*, from 1952 until 1955, helps to fill this gap in information (*Return to Power: A Report on the New Germany*, Praeger, $6.00). He is the best type of inquiring reporter, more interested in long-term trends and basic developments than in transient scandals and sensations. He has studied Germany thoroughly and seen it whole; his factual knowledge is extensive and his judgments are sound and impartial.

One can find in this well-stocked book the answers to almost all the intelligent questions about Germany. Horne speaks with equal knowledgeability about the Germans' passionate addiction to work (which has wrought such a miracle of successful reconstruction in a bombed-out country obliged to absorb some eleven million destitute refugees after the end of the war) and about the most likely successors to Adenauer.

The "miracle" of German economic recovery from the state of desolate ruin that prevailed after the end of the war is one of the best imaginable pragmatic arguments for the dynamic effectiveness of capitalism, without "buts," "whereases" and "on the other hands." The men who directed economic policy under Adenauer, notably Minister of Economics Ludwig Erhard, believed passionately in free enterprise, competition, free international trade and investment.

Mr. Horne gives an excellent personality sketch of Erhard, whose "cheerful, owl-like features, amplitude of figure and perpetual cigar make him the very symbol of West Germany's regained prosperity—his ebullience synonymous with the energy of its export drive." There is impressive evidence that the return to economic freedom paid off: a booming production and foreign trade, a continually rising wage standard, and virtually no unemployment.

The author finds the U.S. Army "certainly less unpopular in Germany than anywhere else in Europe" and notes that the American occupation, harsher than the British in the beginning, has become much more friendly in recent years. As he puts it: "In 1945 the occupying British forces treated the Germans coldly, fairly and without hatred; in 1955 they still treat them coldly, fairly and without hatred."

As Mr. Horne shows, the German Federal Republic, of all the larger European states, is one of the best inoculated against Communism. There is not one Communist deputy in the freely elected Bundestag. The constant stream of hundreds of thousands of fugitives from the Soviet Zone to the West is an eloquent informal plebiscite for the West against the East, for the rule of law and the free economy against Communist dictatorship.

The author is a reporter, not a commentator. His sympathies are obviously with Adenauer, the remarkable octogenarian who has led his people so far on the road to "return to power," to quote the title of the book, and against the extreme nationalists who sometimes make an unholy alliance with Communists on a platform of neutralism and opposition to Adenauer. The Soviet leaders would be happy to settle for a neutralized Germany, with American troops withdrawn across the Atlantic, and with Soviet troops right across the border in Poland or in Koenigsberg, annexed to the Soviet Union and renamed Kaliningrad.

The struggle for Germany—the efforts of the Soviet Union, by a variety of devious maneuvers, to detach Germany from the Western camp; the counter-effort of the Western powers, if they possess the diplomatic skill and foresight, to enlist Germany as a partner—will be one of the most fascinating spectacles of coming years on the European political stage. Mr. Horne in his admirable survey, which leaves out very little of importance for understanding Germany, offers the reader a front-row seat.

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Closer in Minutes

Saddles and Spurs: The Pony Express Saga, by Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lamb Settle. 217 pp. Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Co. $3.75

If time is money, space is time. A particular place is only as far away as the number of days or hours it takes to get there. And if Americans are the most speed-conscious people in the world, this is not because they are more superficial, or novelty-hungry, or nerve-wracked than any other nationality, but because from their beginnings they have had to deal with so much horizontal space. The clipper ship, the Stanley Steamer, the telephone, the telegraph, the airplane and even TV were all developed by Americans for the ungratuitous expedient of getting a little closer to each other in minutes, if not miles.

When the United States acquired the California territory in 1848, its width became twice that of the whole of Europe. The following year gold was discovered and a rush to the Pacific Coast began. Settlers and prospectors travelled overland, but mail went by steamer to Panama, across the Isthmus by train, and again by steamer up to San Francisco. A letter from a man in Colorado to his wife in California took six months to arrive.

The heady prosperity of the gold-seekers could afford something quicker, and very soon they got it. On April 3, 1860, the first rider of a new enterprise called the Pony Express left St. Joseph, Missouri. Over one hundred relay stations with fresh riders and horses waited for him along a two-thousand-mile trail across the central plains to Salt Lake City, through the Rockies to Virginia City, and on to Sacramento. The full trip took ten days, in the course of which riders were exposed to Indians, outlaws, blizzards, loneliness and appalling fatigue. The postal rates for this unique service began at $5.00 per half-ounce.

Easily the most plucky and picturesque system of communication ever undertaken, the Pony Express lasted only nineteen months. In October 1861, the completion of the first transcontinental telegraph line eclipsed its monopoly overnight. And though Hollywood alone has probably made millions out of its myth since then, its stockholders lost several hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. and Mrs. Settle have lovingly gathered together what looks like an exhaustive record—pictorial as well as verbal—of its finances, operating procedure, personnel and tall tales. Its most illustrious rider, of course, was "Buffalo Bill" Cody, who was employed along its wild Wyoming route at the age of fifteen, and whose exploits included the longest Pony Express ride on record: 384 miles.

ROGER BECKET

Costly Kindergarten

When Teachers Face Themselves, by Arthur T. Jersild. 169 pp. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. $3.25

All God's chillun, they say, got shoes. It is even more certain that all educationalists got problems. For each of them is obliged, if nothing else, to face the basic problem of how to create problems.

The ideal problem, of course, is of the general type: "Should mashed potatoes be eaten with a trowel or a crowbar?" This, you see, guarantees *positive* results: the answers to the questionnaire cannot fail to demonstrate scientifically the need for drastic reform of (in this case) our outworn and traditional table manners as a means of preserving our democratic way of life. But it is not always easy to devise such perfect subjects of research, and, at the limit, almost anything will do for a problem — anything, that is, so obvious or preposterous that some people will be impressed when they see a Doctor of Education treat it with the wide-eyed solemnity of a three-year-old studying a pile of blocks.

Professor Jersild, justly renowned as one of the mightiest of the mighty minds assembled in Teachers College, has mobilized the resources of modern science, and attacked the problem: are teachers as happy as larks? He opened his campaign by interrogating the members of his classes and the teachers in a high school. Over 90 per cent gave "responses" which *"indicate that the idea that the school should promote self-understanding is, in*

theory at least, a very acceptable one." (The italic ecstasy is Professor Jersild's.) Having gained this initial advantage, Professor Jersild laid down a barrage of conferences, questionnaires, ratings, evaluations and percentages, and then, at the strategic moment, unmasked his secret weapon, a battery of "Personal Issues Inventories." The result was a glorious victory for Science, which has now conclusively shown that a) teachers are *not* as happy as larks, and b) teachers *are* as unhappy as human beings and for the same commonplace reasons as other human beings.

Unfortunately for Professor Jersild and his colleagues, American adults are beginning to look with something less than amusement on the expensive kindergarten in which for forty years overgrown children have been solemnly amusing themselves by playing philosopher.

REVILO OLIVER

Elusive Still

Henry Adams: A Biography, by Elizabeth Stevenson. 425 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. $6.00

Henry Adams, to this reviewer's mind, was the finest product of the most distinguished single family that figures in the American political tradition, and the profoundest American sage of his era (from the Civil War to World War I). He was not always right on the trend of events in philosophic analysis in American and world history; but he was right oftener than the next fellow, including the next Adams.

Miss Stevenson is clearly an admirer of Adams, too, so that I began reading her book with a definite bias in its favor. I found in it, for one thing, an exhaustive presentation of all that is known or is likely to be known about Adams' life; and, since there was nothing secretive in his career, and no mysteries remain to be cleared up, his letters are many and quite revealing. He left us, moreover, *The Education of Henry Adams,* one of the few truly great classics of American literature—*sui generis,* and the most impressive intellectual autobiography we have. (The title itself is a dazzling stroke of genius!)

There is, however, something elusive about Adams—as, perhaps, there always is about genius. Miss Stevenson, in any case, adds nothing fundamental to our previous interpretation of him. Indeed, it may be said that her book manifests more research than insight, and is richer in documentation than in understanding. Her major attempt to "explain" him is not convincing: he was so crushed by his wife's suicide, when he was 47, he was "a different man from this time forward." The event was undoubtedly a paramount and enduring tragedy, but the evidence is lacking that he was basically changed by it. He had already, as Miss Stevenson herself states, "come to think of existence as rigidly determined, but without teleology," and he continued to think along this line. It was also before his wife's mad act (her suicide was engendered by psychotic melancholy) that he began to discern the "sub-rational" as against the rational bonds of society; ultimately, he "suspected the sub-rational bonds were the stronger." And his pensive pessimism developed gradually but steadily from the very first period of his higher education—in England during the Civil War.

Miss Stevenson, on the other hand, errs in presenting Adams as always a pessimist. In an obiter dictum that she quotes, he estimated that the world would "break its damn neck" by 1932; but she ignores his other side, the aspect of which is presented in the very last lines of the *Education*: if, he says, he and his two best friends could return to earth in 1938, their centenary, "perhaps then, for the first time since man began his education among the carnivores, they would find a world that sensitive and timid natures could regard without a shudder."

There is an all too human—"sub-rational"—explanation of this dichotomy! Adams dared to hope, but he had no faith in the Myth of Progress. The fact that he rejected it when he did, and as flatly as he did, is the best proof of both his prescience and rugged individualism. Generally, however, he was indeed pessimistic, and probably would have agreed with Spengler's dictum *after* World War I that optimism is cowardice.

Miss Stevenson does give a good, though rather pedantic, summary of all the works of Adams. She is least satisfactory in her précis of the *Education*—although, admittedly, a good précis would be hard to bring off. Which is another way of saying that it should be read in full and frequently—as a sagacious exposé of many human fallacies and a treasure-house of Olympian infallibility.

WILBUR BURTON

Promising First Novel

The Dominant Note, by Victor White. 314 pp. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.95

This appears to be the first novel of a young writer, who is familiar with his setting, shows promise of sensitivity and perception, but has not yet mastered the mechanics of his art. His story travels all the way from Europe to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where the main action takes place, and leaves one with the feeling that the artist has attempted too large a canvas. The emotional theme, the transition from hate to love, too often is lost in a welter of detail.

The time is 1926, but the novel lacks the Fitzgeraldian flavor that might lead one to expect. Even the ideas expressed are more representative of now than then. For example, "We all feel that we're entitled to some paternal shelter and to a wall to our backs that used to be there." If my rather hazy memory of the Roaring Twenties is correct, people were kicking over the traces in all directions rather than seeking "paternal shelter." It was not until the early thirties that our security fixation emerged, as the natural offspring of the *affaire d'amour* between New Dealism and Marxism.

But *The Dominant Note* has little to do with political philosophies, past or present. It is concerned almost entirely with Santa Fe and its environs, and with the artists and writers and native Indians and Spanish Americans who inhabit that locale. The descriptive matter, though there is too much of it, is excellent and authentic.

The central character is an incredibly successful (even for 1926) young man named Peter, who deeply resents his illegitimate birth, vows vengeance upon his father, a Santa Fe artist, and finds his opportunity for revenge in a love affair with an attractive older woman.

FRANCES BECK

To the Editor

Culpability Alone

In your incisive editorial on the Slochower case, you contrasted the 1956 Supreme Court's interpretation . . . of the Fifth Amendment with an apt quotation from the Teapot Dome case on the same subject.

A Massachusetts Supreme Court decision by the late Chief Justice Rugg . . . is even stronger:

> Instant impulse, spontaneous anxiety and deep yearning to repel charges thus impugning his honor would be expected from an innocent man. . . . In the face of such accusations, men commonly do not remain mute but voice their denial with earnestness, if they can do so with honesty. Culpability alone seals their lips.

How could it be otherwise?

Boston, Mass. KENNETH D. ROBERTSON, JR.

The Kirk-Meyer Debate

I should like to take issue with your correspondent Dr. Needles [April 18] in regard to the Kirk-Meyer "debate" on John Stuart Mill's defense of liberty . . . It is not true that they are engaging in "intramural donnybrooks between those who split hairs."

This debate, between two gentlemen who agree upon Mill's philosophical position and yet have decidedly different opinions about that position, is symptomatic of a more fundamental —and irreconcilable—ideological division among those who call themselves conservatives.

As a libertarian, Mr. Meyer sees liberty as an end in itself, not as a means to the attainment of moral truth. Although he may attempt to justify his concept of liberty through a flimsy underpinning of "morality" and "value" he is still in love with the "freedom to choose," not with the truth which that freedom may lead to; indeed, I think that for Mr. Meyer the most profound truth is the dictum that "freedom is the essence of the being of man."

Mr. Meyer disparages those who condemn Mill "not as having unsound foundations for his defense of liberty, but for that defense itself." I submit, however, that a defense of liberty upon the false premises of utilitarianism can result in a . . . self-defeating argument when employed by a believer in liberty for the sake of moral truth . . .

Can it be that the doctrine of libertarianism—liberty for the sake of the satisfaction of man's desire for liberty—is as utilitarian and selfish as those of the Liberals, with their emphasis upon the pleasure principle and the satisfactions of man's material desires?

This is not an attempt to defend Mr. Kirk; indeed, I am afraid his concept of "liberty" is not so well-defined as Mr. Meyer's . . . But Mr. Kirk is headed in the right direction in his attitude toward liberty . . .

Cambridge, Mass. FRANK ROSSITER

Lippmann as Prophet

. . . Not content with an act of heresy in disputing the Lippmann doctrine of prerogatives, Mr. Kornhauser [NATIONAL REVIEW, May 2] commits sacrilege by assailing Lippmann, the Prophet.

Don't forget that Lippmann wrote in 1944:

> It is easy to say, *but it is not true,* that the Allies of today may be the enemies of tomorrow. . . . Our present alliance . . . is an alignment of nations which, despite many disputes, much suspicion, and even short and local wars, . . . have for more than a century been natural allies.
>
> It is not a coincidence that . . . the United States and Russia, under the Czars and under the Soviets, have always in vital matters been on the same side. . . .

Royersford, Pa. FLOYD E. WILEY

The President

Your journal of April 18 lauds the Eisenhower statement that he would never send troops to combat without consulting Congress, and that such a statement shows his "instinctive respect" for the constitutional balance of power.

Eisenhower has made many laudable statements . . . particularly before he was elected—but, alas, he has adhered to few of them . . .

Many of us wonder . . . if his actions against the Bricker Amendment and the McCarran-Walters Act, and his inclination . . . for the UN, the OTC, and the ILO, and for the continuation of foreign aid really earn him the signal honor which you bestow upon him . . .

Washington, Ind. ARTHUR G. BLAZEY

(*Continued from* p. 10)

Right to Know Editor, please copy.)

Edwards got a respectful hearing and a standing ovation at the end. Students said afterward that they had learned a lot.

Father Halton in his closing remarks then told how he had tried to induce the University to cancel the Hiss invitation on the ground that Whig-Clio had not sought the prescribed clearance beforehand. He got the inevitable brushoff. Father Halton knew from personal experience that the College panjandrums could and would stymie a speaker they *really* did not want: they had been stalling approval for his own appearance before another Princeton group for six months because he was "controversial." (*Daily Princetonian,* Academic Freedom Editor, please copy.)

In the question period, one questioner wanted to know about Edwards' status as a "convicted libelist" (as he had been described editorially in the *Princetonian*). Mr. Edwards good-naturedly explained that he had not been a party to the suit referred to. (*Daily Princetonian,* Smearing of Innocent Persons Editor, get ready for a libel suit from Willard Edwards—or skip to Honduras.)

"Bring on Grace Kelly!," yelled an undergraduate after the meeting. This probably expressed the basic reaction of the bulk of the student body (and mind) to the whole thing. But the faculty, Dr. Dodds and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer (a local character) no doubt took the matter far more gravely. After all, Princeton was the birthplace of the "Veterans of Future Wars." What, oh what, if some brash student should now start a movement called "Future Brainwashees of Communist Slave Labor Camps"?

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"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

Important Note: "C" series blanks must be postmarked on or before June 15, 1956. No entry postmarked later can be considered.

10 Prizes 10

FIRST PRIZE: $1,500 credit toward a vacation to one of the following: Europe, Mexico, Hawaii or the Caribbean islands. Arranged by the Margaret Cone Travel Service, 520 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

SECOND PRIZE: Westinghouse console model color television set.

EIGHT ADDITIONAL PRIZES: A $50 certificate for books of your choice from the Bookmailer, "The Complete Bookstore by Mail," Box 101, Murray Hill Station, New York, N. Y.

OR

A $50 certificate for records of your choice from the Record Hunter, "The World's Largest Selection of Recorded Classical Music," 1200 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Contest Rules

1. Any resident of the United States above eighteen years of age may enter (except employees of NATIONAL REVIEW and their families).
2. To enter the contest, each contestant must fill out four official entry blanks (or facsimiles) with predictions as follows:
   a) The 1956 Republican nominees for President and Vice President
   b) The 1956 Democratic nominees for President and Vice President
   c) The number of first ballot votes for the Republican Presidential nominee
   d) The number of first ballot votes for the Democratic Presidential nominee
3. Beginning with the March 7 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW is publishing one entry blank each week for twenty successive weeks. These blanks will be numbered as follows: A1, A2, A3, A4; B1, B2, B3, B4; C1, C2, C3, C4; D1, D2, D3, D4; E1, E2, E3, E4.
4. Each contestant must fill out the four complete blanks of one set (i.e., the "A" set, "B" set, etc.), and must send in all four at one time, in one envelope. Each contestant may send in one entry of each set — five possible entries in all. (It is not necessary to buy NATIONAL REVIEW in order to enter. You may apply for entry blanks at NATIONAL REVIEW's office at 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.; but, to facilitate handling, only one blank can be supplied on each application.)
5. The contest will close on August 1, 1956. Final entries must be postmarked not later than 11 P.M. on that date. Winners will be notified on or before September 15, 1956.
6. All entries must be addressed to: "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.
7. The standing of the contestants will be determined by the number of candidates correctly named, with ties decided by the relative accuracy of the first ballot estimates. If ties still remain, tie-breaking questions will be assigned.
8. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW will act as judges. Their decision on all matters will be final.
9. Entries to this contest will not be accepted from states where prize contests are prohibited by state or local law.

Official Entry Blank C-3

"Pick the Candidates!" Contest

When properly filled out and submitted together with completed entry blanks C-1, C-2 and C-4, this will constitute an official entry to NATIONAL REVIEW's "Pick the Candidates!" contest, subject to the contest rules. Address your entry to "Pick the Candidates!" Room 202, 211 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y.

I predict that the number of first ballot votes for the Presidential nominee at the 1956 Republican Convention will be:

_____

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My Name

_____

Address

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City Zone State

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW request the following information, which is not, however, an entry requirement for the contest.)

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